United Nations S/PV.3376

Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3376th Meeting

Friday, 6 May 1994, 11 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Chen Jian
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Khan
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bizimana
	Spain	Mr. Pedauye
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

94-85627 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week*, to the Chief, Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178 and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada, Haiti and Venezuela, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) took a place at the Council table; Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) and Mr. Tejera Paris (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1994/541, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted to it by Argentina, Canada, France, the United States of America and Venezuela.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/541, in its provisional form.

In operative paragraph 7 (a), the words

"notified to the Committee established pursuant to resolution 841 (1993)"

are to be deleted.

The second revision is to add the following words at the end of operative paragraph 10:

"and also to ensure that the Committee established pursuant to resolution 841 (1993) is kept regularly informed".

The first speaker is the representative of Haiti, on whom I now call.

Mr. Longchamp (Haiti) *(interpretation from French):* The Government of the Republic of Haiti welcomes the submission to the Security Council of a draft resolution containing measures along the lines of those requested by President Aristide, in particular in his address to the General Assembly on 28 October 1993 and in his letter to the Secretary-General of 9 March 1994.

On behalf of my Government, I also wish to express our deep appreciation to the countries that are the Four Friends of the Secretary-General and to the delegation of Argentina, which sponsored the draft resolution.

The aim of the draft resolution is to force the leadership of the Haitian Armed Forces to abide by the commitments they made to the Haitian people and the international community when they signed the Governors Island Agreement. This Agreement was achieved thanks to the hard work of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and of the Organization of American States, with the help of the Four Friends.

Unfortunately, since the signing of the Governors Island Agreement, the military has not only reneged on its commitment, but has also created conditions preventing the Agreement's implementation, by, *inter alia*, establishing a paramilitary organization known as FRAPH, whose members are primarily recruited from among the "tontons macoutes" of the Duvalier dictatorship.

The sudden arrival of FRAPH on the political scene in Haiti coincided not only with a worsening of banditry and gangsterism, but also with human rights violations of a kind hitherto unknown among the range of repressive measures in Haiti: the rape of women, the kidnapping of children and the mutilation of the bodies of victims. At the same time, they are trying to exploit the sanctions by monopolizing the trade in petroleum products and by-products.

Despite the difficult and often hostile conditions, and the limited means at its disposal, the International Civilian Mission in Haiti reported more than 50 cases of summary execution in the Port-au-Prince area, attributed to the military and its civilian auxiliaries, in February alone. Recently, the people of Petit Bourg du Borgne and the suburb of Gonaives were the victims of massacres carried out by tactical units of the Haitian Armed Forces. This led to a mass flight to the interior of the country and attempts to flee elsewhere to escape the terror of the putschist regime.

A solution to the crisis cannot come too soon for the Haitian people. We therefore hope that the draft resolution will have the desired result, even before it enters into force: the departure of the military and the immediate restoration of President Aristide to his legitimate functions.

We thank in advance the members of the Security Council, who we trust will unanimously adopt the draft resolution. I take this opportunity to make an urgent appeal to the international community, States, institutions, organizations and others to ensure that the sanctions provided for in the draft resolution are fully implemented, in order to end the suffering of the Haitian people. The success of this initiative depends on strict compliance with the draft resolution.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) *(interpretation from French):* Allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May and to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Keating, for his energetic and effective leadership of the Council's work in April.

Thirty-one months after the overthrow of Haiti's democratically elected President, the Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the situation in Haiti is bleak. Efforts to implement the Governors Island Agreement, negotiated almost a year ago, which is aimed at the return of President Aristide and the restoration of democracy in Haiti, are at an impasse.

In the meantime human-rights abuses, still widespread, have escalated in recent weeks. Armed civilian groups intimidate their fellow Haitians with impunity. Political and civil rights are denied. The humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate. The military authorities responsible for the 1991 *coup d'état* remain in place, President Aristide has not returned and the Haitian people continue to suffer. In short, the promise of stability and democracy envisaged in the Governors Island Agreement has not been realized.

My Government concluded several months ago that stronger measures were needed to break this impasse. The key to resolving the Haitian crisis remains compliance by the military authorities with their obligations under the Governors Island Agreement. Existing sanctions, reimposed in October, have proved insufficient for achieving this end.

That is why Canada is a co-sponsor of the draft resolution, which imposes a comprehensive commercial embargo and a number of measures aimed specifically at the military authorities and other supporters of the 1991 *coup d'état*. My Government is convinced that this is the only way to force the military authorities to respect their commitments.

I wish to underline in this regard that the draft resolution makes it clear that sanctions will not be lifted completely until President Aristide has returned to Haiti.

The effectiveness of the existing sanctions and the new measures in the draft resolution depends on full compliance by all States. Canada, with several other countries is participating in the maritime interdiction force aimed at achieving full implementation of the sanctions.

However, the land border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic remains a key factor in this equation. Sanctions violations across this border substantially reduce the impact of the measures we impose. They are unacceptable, and they must stop.

We welcome the decision by President Balaguer to establish a commission to control that border and put an end to those violations. We firmly support the request by the Dominican authorities for United Nations assistance in this regard. In our view, international technical assistance, possibly including the deployment of international monitors, would help ensure that the Dominican Republic can effectively carry out its responsibilities. Canada stands ready to help in these efforts.

(spoke in English)

Some have argued that tougher sanctions now would only aggravate the abysmal humanitarian situation in Haiti. Let there be no mistake. It is the failure of the military authorities to fulfil their commitments which is solely responsible for the plight of the Haitian population. As long as they remain, there is little hope that the humanitarian situation will improve.

Since last November President Aristide has called for comprehensive sanctions. They are the necessary price to pay to rid Haiti once and for all of the source of its suffering. We fully share the President's hope that these measures will be in place for as short a time as possible. This depends entirely on the actions of the military authorities.

We are very concerned by the suffering inflicted on the Haitian people by the intransigence of these authorities. Canada has provided over $35 million in humanitarian aid since the 1991 *coup d'état* to help meet the needs of the most vulnerable sectors of the population. We will continue to provide assistance in the form of essential foodstuffs and medicines.

Until now the delivery of international humanitarian assistance has been largely unimpeded. My Government strongly warns against any attempt to interfere with the delivery of this assistance or to endanger the personal security and safety of those involved in these efforts.

Our central message has not changed. The Haitian military authorities must honour their commitments, and President Aristide must return to Haiti. Canada remains fully committed to realizing these objectives. My Government believes that the international community is united in its determination to see that the process begun at Governors Island is completed. The draft resolution before the Council reflects this determination and our unity of purpose. It is an important step in ensuring President Aristide returns and legitimate authority is finally restored to Haiti.

The President: I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words she addressed to me and to my predecessor.

The next speaker is the representative of Venezuela. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tejera París (Venezuela) *(interpretation from Spanish):* My Government demands and supports the restoration of democracy in Haiti and respect for the decisions contained in both the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact. It also considers that the text of the draft resolution before the Council today comprises ideas repeatedly put forward by Venezuela in the past. The draft resolution deserves immediate adoption, in view of its introduction by the United States delegation and the subsequent work done by the group of Friends of the Secretary-General and by the members of the Security Council that joined in the deliberations and the effort to deliberate and find consensus.

The subject before the Council today is of the utmost importance to Venezuela. Not only is Haiti a friendly neighbouring country to which we are linked by many ties of history and solidarity; it is above all a country struggling to preserve democracy, which, as expressly mandated in our Constitution, is one of the supreme principles of our foreign policy.

Military rebellion and dictatorship are tragic experiences for any people. In Haiti there is in addition, as we see every day, the routine, shameless violation of human rights. The protection of these rights and the rejection of dictatorship can allow no settlement or negotiations that might allow guilty parties to go unpunished. Though it is wise to bear realities in mind, and look for ways out of a crisis, such efforts should not be prolonged to the point of becoming weakness.

Being convinced of that, we must say once again that the legitimate Government of Haiti and its Constitutional President have proved the loftiness of their aims by agreeing to search for compromise formulas that will make it possible for their country to return without disturbance to institutional normality. These compromise formulas were set down in the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact, which were sponsored and endorsed by the international community and deserve the staunchest solidarity to ensure their implementation.

If the international community weakens its support or begins to interpret these agreements in such a way as to limit their scope, it will only prolong the crisis and hence the suffering of the Haitian people. By returning to our original strategy, we shall hasten the restoration of constitutional normality in Haiti, shorten the period of anguish and suffering, and open the way to prosperity.

If there is anything worse than a crisis, it is getting accustomed to living with it. Any delay, any vacillation, any distortion of the fundamental objectives could have terrible consequences, such as human rights violations, for procrastination will lead to smuggling and the black market, and to more suffering for the Haitian people. In the name of love and compassion we must ask all countries not to violate the sanctions regime and to punish any violations, so that the sanctions can be kept brief and so that they will have greater impact on the guilty parties than on the Haitian people. Moreover, the leaders of the dictatorship must be made to understand that these sanctions are not reprisals, but a strong new appeal to their patriotism; by their departure and by the restoration of constitutional Government, they will be preventing further suffering and enabling us all to help the people of Pétion rebuild their once-flourishing economy.

This is not the limit of the international community's action; we must be ready to offer Haiti technical, administrative and material assistance in forging its political, economic and social democracy. We must work with commitment to reduce, as far as possible, the negative impact the expanded sanctions regime could have on a population abandoned to the lowest levels of poverty, despite its human and material potential.

Venezuela will continue its efforts as a Friend of the Secretary-General on the question of Haiti. We trust that the present measures will enable President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to return home and lead the political and economic recovery of his country. We pledge our utmost cooperation.

I wish to congratulate Ambassador Colin Keating of New Zealand on his dedicated and efficient presidency of the Council last month. We wish also to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your personal and professional qualities are well known in my country, and in the United Nations. We are sure that with your usual careful and effective approach you will successfully preside over the delicate work of the Council to promote international peace and security.

The President: I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind words he addressed to me and to my predecessor.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Today the Security Council is once again considering the situation in Haiti, because of the continuing failure of the military authorities in that country to honour their commitments under the Governors Island Agreement, and because of the massive violations of human rights being committed in Haiti with impunity.

The proud people of Haiti, whom we regard with affection, was the second in the Americas to win independence and blazed the trail of freedom for other American States. It has suffered much in recent times. We need only recall the dictatorship of François Duvalier and of his son Jean-Claude Duvalier, removed in 1986 by the armed forces.

December 1990 saw free presidential elections, in which the Haitian people, by a two-thirds majority, elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide as their President. The elections were supervised by the Organization of American States and by the United Nations itself. A few months later the Haitian military interrupted the fragile democratic process in their country.

The Argentine Republic is shocked by the suffering of the Haitian people. Human rights are systematically violated in Haiti, and organized terror runs rampant everywhere. The international community cannot stand by in the face of these horrendous violations of fundamental human rights, violations which are a clear affront to the world conscience. There must be a reaction, and this reaction should come under the Charter of the United Nations.

Because of its scope, the tragedy of Haiti goes beyond the country's borders. The international community cannot regard the serious, systematic violation of human rights within the territory of a given State as a purely internal matter.

The draft resolution before us, which the Argentine Republic joined other Friends of Haiti in sponsoring, strengthens the sanctions regime the Security Council imposed by resolution 841 (1993). For the first time, these are personalized sanctions that will apply to those

who continue to flout the will of the international community.

Recent history, including the elections in South Africa, shows that, with time and perseverance, economic sanctions can be effective. They isolate a country and in this case they pin responsibility on those who have seized power.

In this draft resolution, the international community, with the firm, united support of the Latin American and Caribbean region, has a clear objective: the restoration of democracy in Haiti. Democracy and human rights are very closely related. Democracy is the only system of government that by definition requires respect for human rights. More important, it has internal mechanisms by which abuses of human rights can be corrected.

Once the goal of restoring democracy is achieved in Haiti, its leaders must set out on the path of reconciliation, avoiding fanaticism and intolerance. In doing so, they can count on our solidarity.

The Argentine Republic is very deeply concerned that the sanctions set out in the draft resolution should make their fullest impact. To that end, there must be appropriate monitoring on the high seas, in which Argentina will participate with a ship from its navy, as well as on land. All borders must be sealed when we are ensuring strict compliance with Security Council resolutions. In that connection, we welcome the recent decision of the Dominican Republic to set up a high-level executive commission to monitor the embargo, as well as its recent request to the Secretary-General for technical assistance.

Mr. Pedauye (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On various occasions this Council has shown that it is willing to consider measures in addition to those adopted under resolution 841 (1993), in which an oil and weapons embargo was imposed on Haiti. Resolution 873 (1993) established that the Council would take such action if the military authorities continued to interfere with the activities of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) or failed to comply in full with this Council's resolutions and the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement.

In this connection, we should recall that the Secretary-General reported to the Council on 19 January, in document S/1994/54, and on 18 March, in document S/1994/311 that no changes in the situation in Haiti had occurred that would make possible a resumption of the United Nations Mission there.

As for compliance with the resolutions of this Council and the provisions of the Governors Island Agreement, the de facto authorities in Haiti have demonstrated little or no intention of complying in either case and continue to impede a return to constitutional normalcy in Haiti.

The impunity with which armed groups are sowing terror among the population, with the consent of the de facto authorities, proves that those authorities are continuing to test the limits of the international community's patience.

The Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly of 29 April (A/48/931) indicated that in the last few months there have been very serious violations of human rights, in particular extra-judicial executions, enforced disappearances, arbitrary and illegal detentions, abductions and rapes - all of which appear to be designed to intimidate those who support the return of the legitimate President of Haiti.

It is against that background that we are about to adopt this draft resolution. The embargo measures contained in it are not an end in themselves; rather, they are an instrument to be used for the political objectives enshrined in the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact, which continue to be the obligatory frame of reference for a solution to the political and social crisis in which Haiti is currently engulfed.

These measures are not directed against the Haitian people, whose situation, from the humanitarian standpoint, is a matter of constant concern to the authorities in my country. On the contrary, the draft resolution the Council is about to adopt is designed so that the burden of the sanctions will fall on those who are responsible for the crisis. The ultimate objective of the sanctions is to facilitate the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the return of President Aristide.

It is important to recall that the effectiveness of the sanctions will also depend on the scrupulous compliance by States with the resolutions of this Council. As in other cases, it must be recognized that the neighbouring countries will have to make a special effort and suffer considerable economic damage. For that reason, it is natural that the draft resolution we are about to adopt should provide for the consideration of requests for assistance under Article 50 of the United Nations Charter.

My delegation has taken note of and welcomes the establishment by the authorities of the Dominican Republic of a Committee to monitor the embargo on Haiti; the objective of the action is to make the embargo as effective as possible. We regard as very appropriate the Committee's request to the Secretary-General that technical advisers be sent to the Dominican Republic to assess the situation in the field and inform the Committee of measures that could be taken to improve implementation of the sanctions along the land and sea borders adjoining the territory of the Dominican Republic.

Before concluding, my delegation would like to indicate once again that the political framework established in the Governors Island Agreement remains valid. Only the return of the legitimate President of Haiti, following the implementation of the Agreement's other provisions, will make it possible to restore constitutional order and democracy and resolve the crisis. We trust that the draft resolution we are on the point of adopting, which is firmly and unanimously supported by the countries of the Latin American and Caribbean Group, will contribute to the achievement of this goal.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The situation in Haiti grows more desperate by the day. A small group of military officers has usurped the sovereignty of an independent people. The usurpers are devoid of honour or patriotism and driven only by greed and mistaken self-interest. They have violated their obligation to uphold Haiti's Constitution, violated their commitments to the international community and violated the most fundamental rights of their people.

Today, the Security Council speaks with one voice. We demand an end to the assault on democracy in Haiti.

By tightening the sanctions noose around the Haitian military today, this Council is joining President Clinton in his determination to protect the people of Haiti and to promote their demand for democracy and dignity.

It is important to note that this draft resolution is the product of full cooperation among the Latin American and Caribbean States, the members of the Council, and the democratically elected Government of Haiti.

This is a step that we did not want to have to take, and a step we should never have had even to consider. We know that sanctions are a blunt instrument. And we are acutely conscious of the suffering of the Haitian people and of the potential of these sanctions to aggravate that suffering. That is why the United States and the international community are also undertaking humanitarian-assistance measures in Haiti on a massive scale.

We in the United States are particularly conscious of the plight of Haitians who, for economic or political reasons, feel they have no future in their homeland. It is our firm objective through this Council and through other means to establish in Haiti once again the conditions under which no Haitians need fear for their lives or livelihoods and all Haitians will have an opportunity to build a future for themselves and their families.

Sanctions are one of the most potent weapons the international community has. Our step imposes upon us a significant moral obligation - to persevere and enforce these sanctions fully so they achieve their objective in the shortest possible time. We recognize that the burden of enforcement does not fall equally on all States. We extend our thanks to the Government of the Dominican Republic for the cooperation it has promised in enforcing these measures. Together, all of us can and must make these sanctions work. The price of failure would be too high for all of us.

The President: The Council will now vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/541, as orally revised in its provisional form.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution as orally revised in its provisional form has thus been adopted unanimously as resolution 917 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French):* My delegation is pleased that the Council has adopted resolution 917 (1994), which establishes a complete and stringent sanctions regime against the

putschist military authorities in Haiti, who continue, in total disregard for the rule of law and international morality, to oppose the return of democracy to a country brought to total ruin through their excesses and those of their minions.

France ventures to hope that, through the determination thus expressed so unanimously by the international community, the Haitian military authorities will be compelled to apply the commitments they themselves entered into almost a year ago.

France has wished to ensure that the imposition of new sanctions are seen first of all as a means to achieve a political result, and not as an end in itself. The objective we seek is clear: to ensure that democracy regains its course in Haiti and to foster the return of President Aristide to his own country.

The Council has seen to it that that objective will not be achieved at the cost of the infliction of intolerable suffering on the Haitian people, which has suffered too much already. The Council intends to censure a minority, including through the use of measures that are exceptional in that they are aimed at individuals. In so doing, the Council has also made sure that the poorest people will not be crushed even more. It is in this spirit that the Security Council will conduct a regular review of the implementation of the sanctions, especially in regard to the humanitarian situation in that country.

Regarding the implementation of sanctions, there is one point that should be emphasized. For my Government, the effectiveness of the sanctions will depend, to a large extent, on the manner in which the Dominican Republic applies this Council resolution. We are certain that the Dominican Government will take to heart the international community's wishes in this regard.

My delegation, furthermore, considers it very important that the economy of Haiti not be brought to collapse by the sanctions regime to be imposed on it in the days to come. That is why we have ensured that there are several exceptions to the sanctions. The Committee charged with the application of the decisions we are adopting will strictly monitor the use to be made of these humanitarian exceptions, to ensure that the putschist circles do not try to take advantage of them.

The sanctions should induce the military and those who support them to agree to step aside and, if need be, leave the country. The military and their allies thus have no choice. France firmly calls upon them to take all the measures required of them so that the political, economic and social deterioration of the situation in Haiti, for which they bear full responsibility, ceases and that country regains the President it has democratically elected.

To be sure, the sequence of events provided for under the Governors Island Agreement as signed on 3 July 1993 can no longer be implemented in accordance with the exact timetable agreed upon almost a year ago. At the very least, there are reasons to review the deadlines and to shorten them. In our view, there is also a new dimension to be introduced to take into account the forthcoming expiration of the mandate of the Parliament - that is, the forthcoming legislative elections, which are an element essential to the restoration of democracy in Haiti. There can obviously be no question of allowing the putschist circles to profit from the institutional vacuum in order to manipulate this election to their own advantage.

My country believes that the restoration of democracy in Haiti, while it presupposes the return of the duly elected President, also requires the existence of a parliamentary institution designed and functioning in accordance with full respect for democratic constitutional principles. These two elements are inseparable. It is up to us to see to it that they are translated into fact. It is also up to all the protagonists in the Haitian democratic arena to contribute to ensuring that this is done.

France for its part is prepared to spare no effort to achieve this result and to make sure that Haiti, in regaining democracy, embarks again on the path of harmony and progress.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): Brazil attaches particular importance to the fact that the Security Council is meeting today in order to consider the question concerning Haiti, a sister nation of the Latin American and Caribbean Group of States.

For more than two years, the international community has been confronted with a crisis that does not seem to slacken its pace. The de facto authorities in Haiti continue to obstruct the timely and strict implementation of the Governors Island Agreement and the New York Pact in a climate of wanton violence and disregard for the basic principles of human dignity. The recent escalation of violence has shocked and outraged the Brazilian people.

As we have stated on previous occasions, the action of the Council can only be understood in the light of the unique and exceptional character of the situation still prevailing in Haiti.

The action taken today by the Council intends to compel the military authorities in Port-au-Prince to relinquish power in compliance with previous agreements signed with the supervision of the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS). The option pursued - the broadening of the current sanctions regime - raises, however, a number of issues of concern on the possible deterioration of the humanitarian situation in that country. It is our fear that a comprehensive embargo might create additional suffering for the Haitian people. Thus it is important to keep under constant review any adverse consequences that the extremely serious measures taken by the Council might entail; indeed, this is provided for in the resolution we have adopted.

A sanctions regime can never be an end in itself. In this regard, it would be hard to conceive of the imposition of measures that affect an entire population being adopted in a political vacuum. We thus welcome the firm and sound political basis of the resolution, aiming at the re-establishment of full democracy and the reinstatement of the legitimate President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. There can be no doubt of the commitment of the international community to pursuing this objective. It is our strong belief that any electoral process in Haiti should be carried out within the framework of the full re-establishment of constitutional rule.

In this respect, it is the view of Brazil that the cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of American States, which proved to be a major tool in the firm international response to the illegal actions undertaken by the de facto authorities, should be effectively maintained until a final solution to the crisis is reached.

The violent interruption of constitutional order in Haiti has clouded the prospects for democratization on the basis of the undisputed prevalence of the rule of law. The international community should persevere in its efforts towards a peaceful solution in order to bring back hope to a people - a friendly and talented people - that is valiantly struggling for democracy. The resolution adopted today is an important expression of multilateral political will.

The Brazilian delegation stands ready to work with other delegations to take appropriate diplomatic measures aiming at the full restoration of democracy in Haiti.

Mr. Chen Jian (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* The Chinese delegation supported, with reservations, the resolution just adopted. We understand that the main purpose of this resolution is to create the necessary conditions for the early restoration of peace and stability in Haiti. Having in the past been a victim of long years of war and instability, the Chinese people cherishes dearly its hard-won peaceful life and is therefore ready to support the efforts designed to facilitate the peace process and re-establish stability in Haiti. The importance of peace and stability cannot be overemphasized, for without them there can be neither political freedom nor economic rehabilitation for the Haitian people, who have suffered so bitterly and for so long.

We hope that the proposed action, as advocated by the sponsors, will contribute to the long-awaited goal of restoring peace and stability to the tragic land of Haiti.

All of this notwithstanding, the history of the United Nations has taught us many lessons, one of which is that sanctions are not a panacea that can be applied whenever and wherever it suits us, for want of a better solution. China, based on its consistent position, does not favour the use of sanctions as a means of resolving conflicts. We therefore urge the parties concerned to redouble their efforts to find a lasting and peaceful solution to the conflict in Haiti.

The Chinese delegation wishes to place on record that the sanctions regime contained in this resolution is, in the absence of other effective measures, an exceptional step taken under the highly unique circumstances now prevailing in Haiti and one which should not constitute any precedent, and that our vote in favour does not presuppose any change in our position *vis-à-vis* the issue of sanctions in general.

> "The humanitarian situation is deteriorating in spite of the efforts of the United Nations and the NGOs" *(A/48/931, para. 31)*.

Those are the very words the Secretary-General, in his report to the General Assembly, uses in describing the depth of the sufferings inflicted upon the Haitian people. Ironically, this suffering is at least partly attributable to the sanctions already applied to Haiti by the Security Council and by other bodies. The question is then whether the newly introduced sanctions regime, if applied, could possibly increase the suffering of the ordinary people in Haiti; and we cannot but express our concern about this. In this connection, the Council, the Secretary-General and the Organization of American States should, as they are bound to do by their moral duty, monitor closely the humanitarian situation in Haiti and take the necessary measures to alleviate the adverse effects of sanctions should our expressed concern translate into reality.

History tells us that, in the final analysis, it is the people themselves who are the masters of their destiny and that it is history that will pass judgement on each one for his or her actions. With the adoption of this resolution, we once again strongly urge the parties in Haiti, in particular the Haitian military, to heed the repeated calls of the international community and to seize the opportunity offered to comply fully and promptly with the obligations they assumed under the Governors Island Agreement and the related New York Pact, so that the new sanctions regime would become unnecessary and a new page could be turned in the annals of Haitian history.

The President: There are no other names on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.